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Ann C. Whitall, the Heroine of Red Bank

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The Battle of Gloucester

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Lost Towns and Hamlets
in Old Gloucester County

Prepared for and read before the
Gloucester County Historical Society
Woodbury, New Jersey



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McGEORGE, ISABELLA C

Ann C. Whitall, the heroine of Red Bank.

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The battle of Gloucester [and] Lost towns and hamlets in old Gloucester County [by Wallace

McGeorge n.p., 1917. Woodbury, N.J., 1963] 22p. 23cm. (Gloucester County historical

society, Woodbury, N.J. Publications)

Includes bibliographical references.

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By Isabella C. McGeorge, as read before the Gloucester
County Historical Society, January 11, 1904

"Not alone when life flows still do truth
And power emerge, but also when strange change
Affects its current * * * * * Oftenest
at death's approach—
Peril, deep joy, or woe."

—ROBERT BROWNING.

IN the early spring time, a field of wheat on a distant hillside seems a beautiful green carpet of unbroken color; the nearer we approach it, the more distinctly the wavy outlines of the seed rows appear—the rough brown earth shows between and bare patches where the grain has been winter killed mar its uniformity; so with us to-day—the patriotic duty of our predecessors looks a lovely green field that bore a perfect harvest—but closer inspection, aided by fragments of preserved data, clearly reveals the discouragements, trials and difficulties that beset our ancestors in their attempt to do their duty to their homes and country.

While energy is definable as Power efficiently and forcibly exerted, the capacity for the performance of work, life, spirit and vigor; yet its correlative, its necessary completion, is endurance. By some, this has been rated as high as is courage; while others consider that it outranks courage and gives to it the higher position, since it requires a continuance of spirit and vigor, the evocation of the noblest attributes of man, which, if necessary, enable one to go unflinchingly into the dark, deep waters that lap the Valley of the Shadow on this side, and on the other, lave the shores of Life Eternal.

In your memory are scintillating numerous examples of brave men and women, as we well know many of the latter have equal capacity to heroically meet sudden death—some of world-wide fame, many of a more restricted area, but the one in whom we claim local interest and whose intrepidity we honor, is an unassuming Friend, or Quakeress of the 18th century, Ann Cooper Whitall. She, strongly imbued with the courage of her convictions, feared no man, nor the Evil One, but fearfully loved her Creator, and tried to live a strenuously ideal life with energy and endurance.

When, on the banks of Woodbury creek, in 1716, 4 mo. 23d, O. S.—there came to the home of John and Ann Clark Cooper, a second daughter, it was decided that the babe was to bear the ancestral name of Ann, as had her mother and grandmother before her.

In accordance with the teachings of Friends, of which society the Coopers and Clarks had for generations been active and prominent members, little Ann was reared to be obedient to parents; to eschew vanity; to be industrious, as occupation was a safeguard from mischief; to be cheerful and civil, avoiding idle discourse, and "to walk answerably to the purity of her profession."

Early her active mind fathomed nature's secrets; none knew better than she where to find the useful simples for the brewing of healing teas; the spring beauties smiled at her first, as she was the soonest to see them; the jacks-in-the-pulpit nodded to her as she examined their tongues to hunt the rare dark ones; the kalmias swung their bells in her face, bespowdering her with their pollen; she made swings under the cedars by pulling down the Virginia creeper; ampelopsis quinquefolia, and gloried in

their autumnal beauty. This was permissible, for it was God's handiwork and not men's base imitation. She learned to love her books for was she not the grandchild of Benjamin Clark, the publisher of Friends' books, London, England, and from whom she inherited a facility with the quill? Later, she indulged in a diary and interjections—a safety valve. Oh! how else could she have controlled herself?

She became proficient in housekeeping and spinning and at the age of 23 was married to the stalwart James Whitall, only son of Job and Jane Sidon Whitall, before Haddonfield meeting, 9th month, 23d, 1739, O. S. They were well-to-do, having a fair share of this world's goods, and owned a ninety acre farm on the east bank of the Delaware river, seven miles below the then town of Philadelphia. Six sons and three daughters blessed their union.

Nine years after their marriage the brick mansion was completed and

I. A. W.

1748

were cut in the north gable, meaning that James and Ann Whitall had built this house at that date. The brick was imported; to-day the building is in a fair state of preservation and is the property of the United States Government.

In her meditations, as she termed her diary, she states that she scarcely had time to sit down, much less to write, for the household cares, the "passel of children" with their fevers and casualties, the week-day meetings, which she rarely missed, once going to a quarterly at Haddonfield, "riding horseback through the rain, the water ran down my skin," the storms that threatened the house and the accident when her husband barely escaped with his life—but then she took time to write of her gratitude: "O what a great favor he is still living! O how wonderful indeed; it is one of the greatest blessings that his children and I can have him with us! Oh, how often I think what would become of me if he were taken away!"

Her sons, while obedient and industrious, would not attend the week-day meeting of the Society of Friends as frequently as the mother deemed necessary; she bemoans the father's bad example and the fact that her sons sometimes skated after meeting on First-day. Her troubled spirit finds expression in her diary thus:

"7 mo. 3d, 1768. Hannah and I went to meeting alone, and her father would not go with us. But it is my lot to go alone, or none must go. Oh, it is my mind that any may contrive their business so as to go to meeting constantly, if they will. But, oh! this going when he has a mind, or once a month. Once a month! When 6th day meeting comes then more earnest at work than ere a day in the whole, whole week! It makes me sick sometimes to see such doings, year after year. Now, we have been married about thirty years and he so cold about religion and the children grown men. This is the greatest trouble I meet with. I go with a heavy heart if my children don't go to meeting nor their father. But I must drink these bitters! Oh! the bitters that I have to drink! Oh! the wormwood and the gall and am overwhelmed in sorrow every day I live. Oh! this wicked world! To go skating after meeting! How can the Lord's day be spent at such work?"

With sly humor, James, her husband, would sometimes question if she were any better than he and the boys, or as good; that she had not escaped being thrown and "kicked by the mare even when she was on her way to meeting." However, the meetings were not always satisfactory, for she beheld there that which troubled her as recorded on "10th mo. 1st Sixth-day, 1771. Oh! the concern I was in! To think of so many that can sit and sleep, meeting after meeting, year after year!"

She mentions also a "hard, laborious meeting" that "Joshua Lord spoke a long while and he did rattle us agoing" and of the non-successful issue of her remonstrance with a drowsy widow, who, being refreshed by her nap, did not accept Ann's reproof in submissive spirit.

She vigorously denounced the "doddry fashions"—that the gaudy calico was unfit garb for plain Quakers and shrewdly divined that the giddiness of youth was traceable to laxity of their elders. "The old people had not done their duty, and that was the reason the young were no better."

In her disapproval of the excessive use or the abuse of tea and tobacco, she caustically classified the users as being irresponsible as the "negors, all one as bad as another."

The negroes of New Jersey, as per the provincial statutes, bore the reputation of being "an idle, slothful people, and free negroes proved very often a charge to the place where they lived."

Dame Whitall seemed equal to all exigencies. Nothing unnerved her, nothing appalled nor dismayed. Her encounter with a thief is characteristic. While the location of the home was very lovely, yet its proximity to Philadelphia brought annoyances; the henroosts were depleted, the cows were milked by stealth, fruit stolen—for the cove was very handy for sneak thieves.

One evening when her husband had been belated at Woodbury, the help absent and the children upstairs asleep, Ann Whitall sat in the living room knitting by candle light. A slight sound attracted her attention to the open stairway. To her surprise she saw a pair of ankles and shoeless feet disappear on the landing. Hastily laying her knitting on the table, she sprang up the stairs and collared a man, who, upon his hands and knees, was about to crawl under the bed of the northwest room. Taken at such a disadvantage his bravado oozed out of his skin in great beads of perspiration.

"What is thee after?"

"Nothin'," was the sullen answer.

"This is a likely place for thee to be hunting it," and slapping him in the face, she marched him downstairs, lecturing him the while on the wickedness of theft. She turned him out of the house, bidding him be thankful that she had been in time to prevent his sin.

In her diary she reproves herself for levity, and earnestly resolves to endeavor to give at least half of her time to serious and woeful consideration, for she was very good company and often found herself really enjoying things that might possibly not be approved by meeting. "I often think if I could be so fixed as to never laugh nor smile I should be one step better. Our Lord pronounces a woe against them that laugh. Solomon said of laughter, 'it is madness.' Then she wonders if it be her duty to cry, day and night, or at least, twelve hours of the twenty-four in order to render herself worthy of heavenly consideration.

But when the woeful time finally came, Ann had no leisure for tears nor meditations, but proved her efficiency and capacity in emergency, realizing that home duty outweighed all other considerations. Upon her own hearth-stone she, in her energetic and practical way, became a heroine whose name has outlived that of those dolorous and saintly Friends whom she had oftentimes hoped to emulate.

Then came rumors of war, followed by active preparation at her threshold for just opposite, at the mouth of the Schuylkill river, on Mud Island, Fort Mifflin was built, and Fort Mercer was thrown up in Whitall's apple orchard on the bluff. Their log barn was torn out to furnish timber for the stockade that was constructed within three hundred feet of their door-sill. For had not General Washington said that "without the free navigation of the Delaware I am confident that General Howe will never remain in Philadelphia," hence, in order to hasten his departure, the Americans were contriving to make Lord Howe's stay as unpleasant as possible. To quote a Quaker historian's quaint version written in scriptural style:

"Now, the people of the provinces had laid impediments in the way of the ships of the King of Britain, so that they could not get to the city, and the hosts of Britain were sore troubled because of these things.

"And the victuals and all the implements of war that were wanted in the host, they brought in carriages to the city, and the charge thereof was great and the arrival of the carriages uncertain.

* * * * *

"Now the implements that were put into the river to keep the ships of the King from coming to the city were strong and many.

"They were made of the large fir trees of Columbia, and they were put one upon another, and large pieces of barbed iron were fastened thereto; and when they were fashioned together they were let down into the waters of the river.

"And the machines with the barbed iron pointed towards the ships, and lo, when the ships came upon the point of the barbed iron, they were marred, and the waters of the river rushed into the ships and they were filled with the waters of the rivers."

Ann Whitall's brother, the fearless John Cooper, who openly espoused the cause, being a member of both Provincial and Continental Congress, had the better of the argument when she called his attention to his duty as a Friend to guard against approving or showing the least connivance at war for he reminded her that she was protected by two forts and a chain across the river.

Some years prior to the Revolution, John Cooper built the brick house on the east side of Broad street, Woodbury, opposite the County Monument. There he lived and died. During the winter of 1777-78 Lord Cornwallis seized the property and occupied it during his stay in this neighborhood, hence it has been known as the British headquarters, and later as the Amos Campbell home, it has been said that this same John Cooper builded better when he drafted the Constitution of the State of New Jersey—that State that recorded herself as third star in that brilliant constellation that illumines the whole world—THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Barber's History records that this Fort Mercer was nothing more than "a good earthen rampart raised to the cordon a fosse and an abattis in front. This constituted the whole strength of the fort—in which were 300 men and fourteen pieces of cannon. This corps was from Rhode Island, and mainly negroes and mulattoes, who were in a ragged, destitute condition."

As first arranged, Fort Mercer was larger than could be manned by Colonel Green's small force, so when Manduit du Plessis arrived at the fort he convinced Colonel Green of the necessity of strengthening the fortifications by intersection, which transformed Fort Mercer to a large redoubt of Pentagonal form.

A fence was built across the south end of the redoubt with 2,000 feet of Whitall's boards and strengthened with 3,000 of his oaken staves; the cannons were concealed with apple-tree brush, hay, etc., giving the place the appearance of a farm brush heap.

1777, 9th mo., 22d was "a pleasant and fair day"—the English were reported to be near"—so James Whitall and his son Job "drove twenty-one head of cattle to uncle David Cooper's, at Woodbury." This was another brother of Ann's; he was known as the "wise David, to whom all applied for advice in cases of difficulty."

After dinner, Job's wife, Sarah Gill Whitall, and the three children, David, Job, Jr., and Hannah, the babe, with a load of goods, were taken to the same place. "The men in the fort took charge (?) of forty-seven sheep." The next day Ann C. Whitall, then sixty-one years of age, went over to her daughter's, Sarah, wife of John Matlock, near Woodbury, with another load of goods, while her husband and son "stored as much grain and wheat" as was possible to secure. Colonel Green impressed a valuable horse and advised the Whitall's to take themselves out of danger while yet there was opportunity. Then they filled four rooms of the house with goods, stores, etc., and locked the doors, leaving the house in possession of the American officers stationed at the fort.

On Monday, October 20, 1777, word came of the advance of 1,500 Hessians,

under guidance of the Tory Mcllvaine and two negroes, Dick and "Old Mitch."

In their zeal, the Tory and Dick went too near and fell into the hands of the Americans and were promptly hanged within the stockade; but "Old Mitch" was too wary. He reasoned that neutrality was the safest plan for him to adopt, so he flattened himself beside a hay rick, where he lay in mortal terror, and never recovered his ebony color which that October day was blued with fright. "But lordy, massy," he used to exclaim, when in after days he was asked to relate his experience of that dreadful time, "ah guess ah shuch as as de canum ball cum ploughin' long de groun' and flingin' the sand in mah face; an' after dat canum blowed up ah thought fer half an hour ah was dead, weder or no!" He referred to the bursting of a gun within Fort Mercer, which did more harm to the Americans than did the combined force of the Hessians on shore and British vessels in the river; and the American casualty being fourteen killed and twenty-six wounded; that of the British was 300 killed, of whom fifteen were officers, and many wounded, 100 dying within three days. Some were interred on the Whitall place, south of the stockade, and many were buried in the Strangers' Ground, on Delaware Street, Woodbury, New Jersey.

After repeated repulses the Hessians retreated in wild confusion, dropping their wounded along the route to Haddonfield. They left their disabled leader, Count Donop, in the trenches; he who so insolently had demanded surrender, with the warning that if the Americans "stood battle they could expect no quarter." That night when Manduit du Plessis found him nearly smothered, and with broken hip, he called to those Rhode Island negroes, who tenderly lifted him out from the encumbering carcasses. Donop expected no quarter then, and he was so overcome by their kind treatment that he exclaimed: "I die content; I die in the hands of honor itself."

They carried him to the Whitall house, but Ann Whitall advised his removal to Gibbs, three-quarters of a mile down the river, where there would be more room and less confusion.

When Colonel Greene moved out of the Whitall house in to the fort on October 21, Ann Whitall went over with her son Job she at once decided to stay and put things to rights. Job insisted that she ought at least go to the nearest neighbor's for safety. But she was obdurate and allowed that if the Lord called her, He would find her at home; and with beautiful faith reminded her son that "the Lord is strong and mighty and He will protect me."

On that fateful Wednesday, October 22, 1777, after setting her house in as good order as possible, and that she might protect herself for whatever God ordained, Ann Cooper Whitall took her spinning wheel to the southeast room. As that wheel whirled round, the guns of the British frigates Augusta and Merlin boomed a gamut of threats—those of the nearby fort roared defiant answers and the musketry of besiegers and besieged, mingled with the screams of the wounded, kept up an incessantly horrible racket. It was terrible. She resisted the impulse to even look northward, fortifying herself with the thought that by abstaining she was bearing testimony to Friends' abhorrence of war.

Then one of the balls went wide of its aim and entered the north gable just below I. A. W. and as if seeking the old lady, it crossed the northeast room, then the hall, and into the southeast room in which Ann Whitall sat spinning, where it fell inert. What if more should follow? She remembered that Providence favors those who aid themselves, so she carried her wheel out into the hall!—oh-h—what an ugly hole that ball made!—down the open stairway, speedily reaching the cellar door and made quick descent to the cool depth of the southeast corner. Here she continued to spin until the tumult ceased and the battle was over.

"And the battle continued about half an hour, and the residue made their escape and fled."

"Now the bellowings of the destroying engines were heard afar off, and the shouting of the men of war resounded from shore to shore and from province to province."

"The flocks and the herds were driven from the pastures they sought the thick shade of the forest! the hair of their flesh stood up at the sound of the battle of the warriors."

"The knees of the ancient smote together! the terrors of death encompassed them round about; they ate their bread; fear and their drink was mingled with their tears."

Ann was on hand with bandages that evening when the injured were brought in; the house was filled, even the attic was crowded. That night she was an angel of mercy to the wounded and dying, but when some of them fretted because of the noise, she reminded them that they "must not complain, who had brought it on themselves." She administered to their needs, this being clearly within the line of duty—"to care for the ill and dying and direct their minds to a solemn commemoration of the approaching period of life."

Colonel Green then took possession of the house—the dead were interred on the banks south of the stockade and Ann Whitall returned to her daughter's, Sarah Matlock.

After the evacuation of the fort on November 20, 1777, the British came and laid waste to everything, but the Whitall house. Although it was not deemed safe for the family to return to their home on the bluff until Monday, April 20, 1778—the record in James Whitall's diary states "after an absence and precarious living for upward of six months."

1781. When General Lafayette brought the Marquis de Chastellux over from Philadelphia to ramble about the battle ground of Red Bank—uninvited, they entered the Whitall house. Ann, not trusting that she could control herself from showing her resentment to the intrusion, withdrew from sight, leaving James to manage the case. He calmly ignored the invaders. After ineffectual attempts to induce his notice, the Frenchman became incensed by the rudeness (?) (save the mark) "of the old Tory Quaker," departed making uncomplimentary record of the visit, as is preserved in Chastellux's Travels in North America.

In later years, after a severe winter during which the river banks became frost cracked, the graves of the Hessians opened and the bones were exposed, some falling out upon the river shore. At night fun loving rovers would come over from Babylon, as Ann termed Philadelphia, arm themselves with bones, race swiftly around the house muttering weird cries—supposedly Hessian maledictions, and if an open shutter permitted, would rap upon the window glass. This was demoralizing to the farm help, and the place acquired the reputation of being haunted. Ann Whitall was very much annoyed, but her keen judgment soon ferreting the origin of the vexation, she persuaded her sorts to collect and rebury all visible relics of the battle. When this was accomplished, the ghostly revels ceased, the "haunt was laid" and peace ensued.

In 1797, when yellow fever appeared in Philadelphia, a quarantine station was established just opposite the Whitall residence, on the Delaware, near the former location of Fort Mifflin. Despite all precautions taken for safety a discarded bed from an infected ship floated into the Whitall cove and the family was seized with the dreaded Yellow Jack. There were six victims: Ann's sons, Job and Benjamin, and grandchildren, Sarah and Aaron, died within the days intervening between September 11-19. Ann C. Whitall was in her eighty-second year; her strong will had borne severe tests; her nerve, rigid tension, and heretofore she had undauntedly faced all emergencies; but weakened by advanced age and this last sorrow she succumbed to the fever, Sunday, September 23, 1797.

Entering the higher life where energy fatigueth not and the burden of endurance melteth into misty nebula.

On the summit of Woodbury Hill is the Friends' burial ground; on the south is a school house, and under the trees of its play ground happy children curl dandelion stems and weave daisy chains; two hundred feet to the north is a blacksmith's forge whence comes the sound of ding-ding-ding-dick; and west, within twenty feet the trolley groans its remonstrance to the steep grade, whose passengers may note at the edge of the embankment a small marble slab, eight inches by two, and showing but six inches above the sward. That marks the final resting place of Ann Cooper Whitall. Three miles to the westward is the Whitall house, and the same beam of the setting sun that glints upon the bosom of the Delaware at her former home, is reflected on the corner of that little monument.

Now the sun in all his state, illumes the western skies;
But she has passed thro' Glory's gate, and walks in Paradise.

"The sun is but a spark of fire,
A transient meteor in the sky;
The soul, immortal as its Sire,
Can never die."

—James Montgomery.

THE BATTLE OF GLOUCESTER

Read before the Gloucester County Historical Society by

Wallace McGeorge, M.D., January 9, 1906

THE Battle of Gloucester, as people living in this part of the State in the Eighteenth Century, called it, was of more importance to the American cause than most readers of history are willing to ascribe to it.

From history we learn that after the fall of Fort Mifflin on November 10, 1777, and the evacuation of Fort Mercer, by Col. Greene, on November 20, 1777, Lord Cornwallis marched a portion of his troops to Red Bank, November 21, destroyed the fortifications and magazine, and then went up the river to Gloucester Point, and established his headquarters there, where his force of five thousand men would be under the protection of the guns on the British frigates lying in the river, and secure from an attack by the Continental troops. Foraging parties were immediately sent out and large quantities of cattle, provision and stores were secured by Cornwallis' men, and ferried over the river to be used by the British army, then in possession of Philadelphia (a).

At that time, all the region of country south of Newton Creek (then called New Town Creek) and north of Timber Creek (then called Big Timber Creek), was called Gloucester, the village itself being known as Gloucester Point. Yet the engagement or skirmish, or battle, known in history as "The Battle of Gloucester" took place within the limits of the then township of Union, now called Centre Township, the Hessians retreating, at the close of the third attack towards Gloucester where the main force of the English army was encamped.

General Nathaniel Greene, considered by some historians, to be next in rank and ability to Gen. Washington, had been sent by Washington across the Delaware river from Bristol to Mount Holly, with an almost equal body of troops, a part of which was militia, and awaited the arrival of Glover's brigade from the North, in order to take offensive measures against Cornwallis.

There had been an unaccountable delay in the arrival of this brigade, which had been expressly ordered by Washington to report to General Greene, and assist him in the second defense of Fort Mercer. Owing to its non-arrival, General Nathaniel Greene did not feel himself strong enough to attack Lord Cornwallis, or to support Colonel Christopher Greene, the brave defender, of Fort Mercer, and in consequence four days after the capture of Fort Mifflin, Colonel Greene retired with his forces toward Haddonfield. Cornwallis marched his troops to Red Bank and destroyed the fortifications, and then went up the river to Gloucester Point.

"Had they (Glover's Brigade) arrived but ten days sooner," writes Washington to his brother, "it would, I think, have put it in my power to save Fort Mifflin, which defended the chevaux-de-frise, and consequently have rendered Philadelphia a very ineligible situation for the enemy this winter." (b).

The foraging parties sent out by Cornwallis, went all over the country now known as Camden, Gloucester, Mt. Ephraim, Collingswood, Haddonfield, Westville, Woodbury, Mantua, Berkley, Paulsboro, Billingsport and Red Bank, seizing horses, cattle, poultry, hay, grain and all manner of provisions from the storekeepers, farmers and residents, carrying them off to feed the British army. As our troops were at Mt. Holly, the inhabitants were powerless to prevent these incursions, and much ill feeling was engendered.

About this time, Lafayette, although the wound in his leg had not entirely healed, had returned from Bethlehem to the headquarters of the army, and knowing that General Greene had been ordered to New Jersey to look after and attack Cornwallis, asked Washington's permission to accompany Greene, and was assigned as a volunteer, and went with Greene through Bristol and Burlington to Mt. Holly. Shortly after, with Greene's permission, he proceeded to Haddonfield, and from there with a small force of men he reconnoitred the enemy's position at and around Gloucester.

In Prowell's history of Camden county we read: "on the evening of November 25, General Lafayette, notwithstanding that he was still suffering from an unclosed wound, came out from camp at Haddonfield, with the intention of reconnoitering Cornwallis. His zeal carried him close up to the British lines upon the sandy peninsula south of the outlet of Timber Creek, and he was pursued by a squad of dragoons." (c)

In Mickle's Reminiscences of Old Gloucester, the same account is given, also the additional information that it was only through the aid of a scout who knew a by-road that Lafayette escaped being captured.

But according to Lafayette's own report, the time of day is wrong, as well as the location where he was, when seen by the enemy, and pursued. In his official report to Washington, he says that this reconnoitering was in the morning, and in his map of the engagement and location of the enemy's forces, Sandy Point is distinctly shown to be North of Newton Creek where the New York Shipbuilding Plant now is. Directly opposite, about where the old iron foundry is now located, in the upper part of Gloucester, a portion of Cornwallis' troops was posted, to guard the approach from Camden, and these were the troops who saw Lafayette while standing near the river bank at the mouth of Newton Creek, reconnoitering their position, and watching the boats coming from Gloucester to Philadelphia with their plunder.

"To insure protection" to the British army, and to the foraging parties sent out by Cornwallis, English and Hessian "pickets were kept on and along the King's road which crossed" Newton Creek and "Little Timber Creek at the Two Tons Tavern, kept by an old lady known as Aunty High Cap. The road extending southerly passed close in front of the Browning homestead, and over Big Timber Creek, where the old bridge formerly stood. Going southerly (easterly is correct) from the old tavern it went near the former residence of Jonathan Atkinson, and through Mount Ephraim towards Haddonfield." (d).

"The section of country lying between this old road and the river was the scene

of many encounters, numberless reconnaissances and much strategy, and traditions are still remembered, touching their purpose and success, while others are lost sight of and forgotten." (d).

There are many accounts of this battle or skirmish. In Brook's "True Story of Lafayette" we read: On the twenty-fifth of November, while accompanying General Greene as a volunteer, to test the strength of the British advance from Philadelphia, he (Lafayette) discovered the British position near the town of Gloucester, and with a force of but three hundred and fifty men, attacked and routed the Hessian advance, with such spirit that Cornwallis supposed himself assailed by Greene's entire division, and with his men retreated in hot haste to the security of the main army." (e).

In Barber's Historical Recollections "A small, but brilliant affair was performed by a detachment of about one hundred and fifty riflemen under Lieut. Col. Butler, and a like number of militia under the Marquis de Lafayette, who served as a volunteer. They attacked a picket of the enemy, consisting of about three hundred men, and drove them with the loss of twenty or thirty killed, and a great number wounded quite into their camp, retiring themselves without pursuit." (a)

In Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution the following brief account is given: "A detachment of one hundred and fifty riflemen under Lieut. Col. Butler, and an equal number of militia under LaFayette, attacked a picket of the enemy three hundred strong, killed between twenty and thirty of them, drove the remainder of them quite into camp at Gloucester, and returned without losing a man." (f).

The following account of the engagement and the events that led up to it, was published in one of the newspapers, and can be found in the New Jersey Archives:

"Mount Holly, Nov. 25, 1777.

"This day at 10 o'clock General Glover's brigade joined the detachment of Continental troops at this place under the command of Major General Greene, who was prepared to attack Lord Cornwallis, and only awaited the arrival of this reinforcement. From the intelligence the General had received, he expected the enemy were camped on this side of Little Timber Creek, and intending either to possess themselves of Haddonfield, or after plundering and ravaging the country, suddenly, to cross the Delaware; he therefore ordered the whole troops to march that night at twelve o'clock. The Marquis LaFayette, who the day before had been down to reconnoitre the country, had that evening fallen in with a part of the enemy, consisting of about four hundred; the Marquis took with him the riflemen and part of the Jersey militia as a covering party; with these, though greatly inferior in number he immediately engaged them. The bravery of this little party, after an action of about three quarters of an hour totally defeated the enemy.

"In the action we lost two militia officers killed, and five privates wounded. The enemy had a captain, several commissioned officers, and upwards of thirty privates killed, and we took twenty-three prisoners—the number of wounded is not known. General Greene being on his march, about two o'clock, received intelligence of the action; he immediately went forward himself, leaving orders for the troops to come on with all expedition.

"On his arrival at Haddonfield, he found the enemy had, after this small action drawn themselves down to Gloucester Point, he however, went to reconnoitre, being determined to attack the enemy, if the ground they occupied, would possibly admit of it, but finding them posted under cover of several ships of war, and in a place where not half his army could act, he directed Gen. Muhlenberg, Gen. Weedon and Gen. Glover's brigade, to return to Mount Holly, leaving Gen. Huntingdon and Gen. Varnum's brigades, with the rifle battalion and Jersey militia, to watch the motions of the enemy, and, if possible, to draw them out. They, however, declined meeting him, and recrossed the Delaware, with all expedition." (g).

In Prowell's History of Camden County can be found an interesting account of the battle, mostly taken from Lafayette's report of the engagement, but the fullest and best account of the reconnoitring before the action, and the engagement itself, are found in Lafayette's report to Gen. Washington, which we quote *verbatim*.

"Haddonfield, Nov. 26, 1777.

"Dear General—I went down to this place since the day before yesterday, in order to be acquainted of all the roads and grounds around the enemy. I heard at my arrival that their main body was between Great and Little Timber Creek since the same evening. Yesterday morning in reconnoitring about, I have been told that they were very busy in crossing the Delaware. I saw them myself in their boats, and sent that intelligence to General Greene as soon as possible, as every other thing I heard of. But I want to acquaint your excellency of a little event of last evening, which, though not very considerable in itself, will please you, on account of the bravery and alacrity a small party of ours showed on that occasion. After having spent the most part of the day to make myself well acquainted with the certainty of their motions, I came pretty late into the Gloucester road between the two creeks. I had ten light-horse with Mr. Lindsey, almost a hundred and fifty riflemen, under Colonel Butler, and two piquets of the militia, commanded by Colonels Hite and Ellis; my whole body was not three hundred. Colonel Armand, Colonel Laumoy, the Chevaliers, Duplessis and Gimat, were the Frenchmen who went with me. A scout of my men with whom was Mr. Duplessis, to see how near were the first piquet from Gloucester, found at two miles and a half of it a strong post of three hundred and fifty Hessians with field pieces, (what number I did know by the unanimous deposition of their prisoners), and engaged immediately. As my little reconnoitring party was all in fine spirits, I supported them. We pushed the Hessians more than a half mile from the place where was their main body, and we made them run very fast. British reinforcements came twice to them, but very far from recovering their ground, they always went back. The darkness of the night prevented us then to push that advantage, and, after standing upon the ground we had got. I ordered them to return very slow to Haddonfield. The enemy knowing perhaps by our drums that we were not so near, came again to fire at us; but the brave Major Morris, with a part of his riflemen, sent them back, and pushed them very fast. I understand that they have had between twenty-five and thirty wounded, at least that number killed, among whom, I am certain is an officer, some say more, and the prisoners told me they have lost the commandant of that body; we got yet this day fourteen prisoners. I sent you the most moderate account I had from themselves. We left one single man killed, a lieutenant of militia, and only five of ours were wounded. Such is the account of our little entertainment, which is indeed much too long for the matter, but I take the greatest pleasure to let you know that the conduct of our soldiers is above all praises. I never saw men as merry, so spirited, so desirous to go on to the enemy, whatever forces they could have, as that small party was in this little fight. I found the riflemen above even their reputation, and the militia above all expectations I could have. I returned to them my very sincere thanks this morning. I wish that this little success of our's may please you, though a very trifling one, I find it very interesting on account of the behaviour of our soldiers.

"Some time after I came back, General Varnum arrived here; General Greene is too, in this place since this morning; he engaged me to give you myself the account of the little advantage of that small part of the troops under his command. I have nothing more to say to your excellency about our business on this side, because he is writing himself. I should have been very glad, if circumstances had permitted me, to be useful to him upon a greater scale.

"With the most tender affection and highest respect, I have the honor to be

"LAFAYETTE.

"I must tell, too, that the riflemen had been the whole day running before my

horse, without eating or taking any rest.

"I have just now a certain assurance that two British officers, besides those I spoke you of have died this morning of their wounds in a house; this and some other circumstances, let be believe that their lost may be greater than I told to your excellency." (*h*)

"The news of this action was extremely gratifying to General Washington, because it encouraged the militia by an example of their usefulness to the service and was a proof that they had soldierly qualities worthy to be compared with those of older troops inured to war—an encouragement greatly needed to stimulate enlistments, which was lagging; and, besides this, it was in accord with the policy of the commander-in-chief at that time—namely to annoy and embarrass the enemy at every point, to cut off their supplies, to attack their foraging parties, and, in general, to make their occupation of the country as uncomfortable as possible." (*i*)

General Greene in his report to Washington said: "The Marquis, with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, attacked enemy's pickets last evening, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behavior of the militia and rifle corps; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground until dark. The enemy's pickets consisted of about three hundred, and were re-inforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger." (*k*).

As pertinent to the subject, the following facts in reference to Lafayette are of interest in connection with the skirmish. Marquis de-Lafayette was born September 6, 1757, was married when he was seventeen, and the father of two children before he was twenty years old. When but nineteen years of age he became interested in the struggles of the colonies for liberty. "The enthusiasm which impelled Lafayette thus to espouse the cause of the American people arose from his ardent love of freedom." (*l*). In December, 1776, he sought an interview with Silas Deane, American Commissioner to France, and there and then entered into an agreement with Mr. Deane to fight for American independence. On account of his rank and influence, notwithstanding his youth, Mr. Deane contracted with him to be made a Major General in the Continental army, his commission to bear date of Dec. 7, 1776. (*m*).

Owing to his youth and his great rank, every influence was exerted to have him remain in France, and as the Americans had no ships at their command in France, he did not leave his native country for America until the following spring. We had no vessels then and Lafayette, out of his own fortune, bought and equipped a ship which he called *La Victoire* (The Victory) and having escaped from France into Spain, sailed Sunday, April 20, 1777 and arrived in South Carolina on June 13th.

From South Carolina to Philadelphia, he traveled by carrigae and when that broke down, the rest of the journey was made on horseback. On July 27, he appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee of Congress, and on account of his youth and of the opposition of certain of the American generals he was turned down and Silas Deane's agreement was ignored. The next day he was presented to Washington, and his admiration for the Commander-in-Chief was so great, that he relinquished his right to a command and volunteered to serve without pay or emoluments of any kind. This offer was immediately accepted by Washington, and he appointed Lafayette one of his aide-de-camps, and made him a member of his official family.

These facts were laid before Congress by Washington, and Lafayette's generous offer, together with the great sacrifices the young marquis had made, completely won the hearts of Congress, and a resolution was passed July 31, 1777, accepting his services, and giving him a commission with the rank of Major General. (*n*) (*p*).

It was impracticable to place Lafayette immediately at the head of a fighting force. It would have been unjust to the American officers who had nobly led their men during the two years of hardship already endured. (*n*). Lafayette remained with Washington, and later took part in the battle of the Brandywine, September 11,

1777, where he was wounded while rallying the troops. After that battle, he was sent to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and there he was nursed back to health by the Moravians. Before his wound had entirely healed he went back to Washington's headquarters, received permission to report to General Greene at Mount Holly, and it was shortly after that the battle of Gloucester occurred.

In conclusion, let us remember that while this battle may be considered only a skirmish, it was important for three reasons. First—Because it convinced Cornwallis that his troops could not longer forage at will, plundering farms and storehouses, and escape harmless. Second—It established the fact that the Jersey militia would fight bravely if skillfully commanded. Third—It gave Lafayette an opportunity to show his ability in handling troops in action.

Washington forwarded Lafayette's report to Congress, and intimated to that body the advisability of giving Lafayette a command as well as a commission. On December 1st, Congress complied with Washington's request, and passed the following:—

“Resolved, That General Washington be informed it is highly agreeable to Congress that the Marquis de La Fayette be appointed to a command of a division in the Continental Army.” (o).

On December 4, 1777, Washington appointed Lafayette to the command of the Virginia Division, just nine days from the time when the Marquis so skillfully led the British militia to victory.

To complete the records, and as a matter of local pride it is but fair to add that the “Colonel Hite” to whom Lafayette refers, was Colonel Joseph Haight, Lieutenant Colonel of the Burlington County militia, (r) and the “Colonel Ellis” was Colonel Joseph Ellis, of the second battalion of the first division of Jersey militia, and a Gloucester County man. (s)

Colonel Ellis was one of the members of the Council of Safety from Gloucester County, in 1775 and 1776 (t) and while acting as a representative in the Provincial Congress was elected Colonel in the militia. On February 15, 1777 he was appointed a Brigadier General in the militia, but on February 21, 1777 he declined this commission, (u) and continued to serve as Colonel. Gloucester County had four companies of 64 men each in the militia.

To make this sketch more interesting we have taken from Lafayette's original chart of the engagement and surrounding country, and have placed on this map the old road from Westville to Cooper's Ferry in Camden, also the positions occupied by the Hessians, the British, and the Continental riflemen, militia, and light horsemen, at the first, second and third attacks, and the routes taken by the British when they retreated to Gloucester, and the route to Haddonfield, taken by the Americans, at the close of the engagements. We have also outlined the route probably taken by Lafayette and his scouting party of light horsemen when they started from the Continental camp in Haddonfield, and went through Collingswood, City Line, Ferry avenue and Sweet Potato Hill (in the lower part of Camden) to Sandy Point, at the intersection of Newton Creek and the Delaware River where the first reconnoitering was accomplished. (This map was presented to the Society, and will, when framed, be hung up in the Court House.)

Taking the present bridge over Timber Creek on the Woodbury and Gloucester Turnpike as a starting point, the old road, called at that time the King's road, crossed Timber Creek about seven hundred and fifty feet eastward of the present bridge, proceeding from thence northward it passed between the houses now occupied by the Vesper County Club and across the road leading from Westville to Mount Ephraim, just east of the spot where the school house used to stand, directly back of the present house at Browning, formerly owned by Daniel Thackara, in a nearly straight line to little Timber Creek, from thence over the bridge, directly east of River View Heights in Gloucester, to the westerly line of Cedar Grove Cemetery, as

at present laid out, from thence through to Market street, Gloucester, and out Market street to Gloucester Point, which in Revolutionary times was at the foot of Market Street, about fifty yards from the spot where the wreck of the frigate Augusta now remains. Market street, Gloucester City, at the point where the West Jersey Railroad crosses it, as now laid out is from ten to fifteen yards north of the old King's highway. The brick house on the Kay Farm on Timber Creek, about 250 yards Eastward from the old King's highway, was used as a hospital to care for the wounded Hessians after the engagement, and tradition says the ghosts of the Hessian officers who died there, haunted the house for many years afterward.

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- e*—Brook's True Story of Lafayette, page 130.
- f*—Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, vol. 2, page 93.
- g*—New Jersey Archives, second series, vol. 1, page 497.
- h*—Tower's Life of La Fayette, vol. 1, page 249.
- i*—Tower's Life of La Fayette, vol. 1, page 251.
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- o*—Journals of Congress, December 1st, 1777.
- p*—Journals of Congress, volume 3, page 303.
- r*—Officers and Men of New Jersey, in the Revolutionary War, page 338.
- s*—Officers and Men of New Jersey, in the Revolutionary War, page 341.
- t*—Minutes of Provincial Congress and Council of Safety, 1775-76, page 569.
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LOST TOWNS AND HAMLETS IN OLD GLOUCESTER COUNTY

Read before the Gloucester County Historical Society by

Wallace McGeorge, M.D., January 14, 1913

IN 1623, Capt. Cornelius Mey with a colony of thirty-four Hollanders, sailed up the Delaware river, landed at Gloucester Point, and built Fort Nassau. This was the first white settlement in this county, and in this part of the State. Mey soon returned to Holland, leaving his colony behind. Capt. DeVries visited the Fort in 1631. But history tells us the Dutch devoted most of their time to trading with the Indians, and no permanent settlement resulted from either of these expeditions.

Acrelius in his History of New Sweden, says: "Full forty years had passed before any one felt disposed to settle and establish his home here. It was regarded as a wild country, where nothing could thrive. Mats Matsson was the first who there built his house." (*a*)

We do not know much about Mats Matsson, except that he was a Swede, and that he attended the Swedish Church at Tenekong and Wicacoa. But in his little home at

Gloucester, one of the earliest romances occurred, for later on Matsson's daughter married the Rev. Andrew Rudman, who was the first provost of Swedish churches in America. (*a b*)

Doubt has been raised by some writers as to where Fort Nassau was located, but Gordon (*c*), Clay (*d*), Acrelius (*e*) and Ferris (*f*) all agree that Arwames or Hermaomissing, the Indian name for Gloucester Point, was the site selected by Capt. Mey upon which he built his log fort. (*g*)

In our own time, Hon. John Redfield who lived and died in Gloucester, and Capt. Wm. H. Snowden, both of whom devoted much time to the discovery of the exact location of the Fort, agreed that Fort Nassau was built on the high bank by the river side along which the Woodbury trolley cars pass, just before crossing Timber Creek to Newbold. This high ground near the mouth of Timber Creek, then surrounded, and in our day as late as 1880, by water on three sides, and on the north by low marshy grounds, was an admirable spot for observation and defense and before race track days, much higher than it is now.

But wherever Fort Nassau was, no trace now remains of the Fort, nor any of the houses which were built nearby; so it can fairly be classed as the earliest town lost in Gloucester county.

The first English settlers in Gloucester County were Friends, who had been driven by religious persecution from England, and had settled in and around Dublin, Ireland. Through George Fox, who had traveled from Virginia through New Jersey, to New York they had learned about the new country where they would be free from persecution, and could escape from their enemies. Edward Byllings, a Friend, had secured control of West Jersey, but being pressed by his creditors, assigned his interest to William Penn, Gawen Larie and Nicholas Lucas as Trustees. April 12, 1677, these Trustees, for Edward Byllings conveyed to Robert Turner, Robert Zane, Thomas Thackara, Joseph Slight, all of Dublin, Ireland, and William Bates, of the county of Wickloe, Ireland, one whole share of propriety in West New Jersey. (*h*). Of these grantees, Robert Turner remained in Ireland until 1683 when he settled with William Penn in Pennsylvania. Robert Zane had gone to America with John Fenwick in 1675. Joseph Slight disposed of his interest to Mark Newbie, and no further mention is made of him.

On Sept. 19, 1681, William Bates, Thomas Thackara and Mark Newbie, with their families, and George Goldsmith and Thomas Sharp, sailed from Dublin in a pink called "Ye Owners' Adventure," "and by ye good providence of God we arrived in the Capes of the Delaware ye eighteenth day of November following and so up the bay until we came to Elsinburg, and were landed with our goods and families, at Salem, where we abode the winter." (*h*)

As the winter was open, the men spent most of their time in exploring the land and creeks between Salem and Burlington, receiving much assistance from Robert Zane, who had traveled all over the land from Salem to Burlington and beyond, many times before his associates had sailed.

The London Friends had settled at Burlington and desiring not to be far away from them, the Irish Friends as they were then designated, settled on Newton Creek. As they came from Ireland their section, afterward called Gloucester county, was known as the "Irish Tenth". After they decided on Newton, they went to Burlington and made application to the Commissioners to have warrants directed to Daniel Leeds, Surveyor General to survey 500 acres for those who were entitled to a tenth of a propriety, and 250 acres for those who had a right to a twentieth. (*i*)

"For fear of ye Indians," the settled close to one another on the north bank of the main branch of Newton Creek, between the White Horse Pike and the Mount Ephraim Pike, and after a little time as far as the Haddonfield Pike. Here they built themselves huts and cabins, covering them with skins to keep out the cold. In a little

while, finding they had nothing to fear from the Indians, they separated, and soon each settler built a home on the land that had been surveyed for him.

According to a map drawn by Thomas Sharp in 1700 (*k l*) Thomas Thackara lived a little east of the Newton Burial Ground, Mark Newbie west of the burial ground, near where Mt. Ephraim pike now runs. William Bates chose his land on the opposite bank of the creek and built his house east of Peter Creek, toward Haddonfield. Robert Zane went further up the creek adjoining Thomas Thackara and built his house fronting what is now called Newton Lake, the Mecca for fishermen, young and old. Richard T. Collings tells me, in widening the White Horse Pike some years ago, he dug into some ruins which turned out to be brick piers built of very old English brick. This may have been part of the foundation of Robert Zane's house, but for this we have no proof. George Goldsmith, or Gouldsmith as a fac simile of his autograph makes him write his name, received his land in two portions, one of twenty acres between the main branch and the south branch of Newton creek, adjoining Gloucester, and eighty acres beyond Robert Zane's land, nearer to Cooper's Creek. One map shows that he lived on the smaller tract, at the mouth of the creek, but as he conveyed this tract to Stephen Newbie, Mark Newbie's son, the day after he got his deed, and bought twenty acres from Francis Collins, adjoining his eighty acre tract, "on the creek about as high as the tide flows," it is evident he did not live near the south branch, but one mile nearer Haddonfield.

Thomas Sharp located at the forks of the north and middle branches of Newton Creek, and probably built his house near where the old sycamore tree now stands. This site would allow him to see up and down the Delaware River, and his farm can be seen when riding to Camden on either railway, just before crossing Newton Creek. I have had all these locations marked on the large map which is ready for your inspection and will be given to the Society for future reference. (Map in Prowell's History of Camden County, page 418.)

Robert Zane was entitled to a tenth, (500 acres); Mark Newbie twentieth (250 acres); William Bates a twentieth; Thomas Thackara a twentieth; Thomas Sharp (out of his uncle, Anthony Sharp's right) a twentieth, and George Goldsmith (under the notion of Thomas Starkey's right) to a tenth.

Robert Zane was a single man until he wooed and won an Indian maiden near Burlington. She took the name of Alice Allday, and they were married in Friends' Meeting House in Burlington, the ceremony being witnessed by Friends and Indians, in 1679. There is no record of any children being born to him by his Indian bride, nor how long she lived after marriage. Robert married again. His second wife's name was Elizabeth Willis, of Hempstead Long Island. She bore him seven children. He died in 1694, leaving his widow his executrix. She died in 1700 before a settlement of his estate could be effected, probably on account of the minor children. I have a deed from Robert Zane's son Robert to his nephew, Joseph Zane, for twenty-seven acres covering the land from Newton Lake to Knight's Park, extending nearly to Haddon avenue. This was executed May 14, A.D. 1740.

William Bates was a carpenter, and after helping his neighbors to build their homes "planned and built the first meeting house at Newton, in 1681. He constructed the rude seats and erected the plain unpretending galleries, in which sat the forefathers of this people, who were faithfully carrying out the belief and the form of religious worship as brought with them across the sea. (*m*). His children were born in Ireland. He was elected to the Legislature in 1683 and 1684, and was commissioner for laying out highways for two years. He died in 1700.

Mark Newbie was a tallow chandler and probably the best off in this world's goods of any of the original six settlers on Newton Creek. He was the first to erect a house, and in this house they all worshipped God in their plain but earnest manner. In this house originated the first religious denomination, according to the order of

Friends in old Gloucester County, as well as the first banking corporation in New Jersey—perhaps in America.

Newbie was the first banker in the colony. By act of the Legislature "Mark Newbie's half pence, called Patrick's half pence, shall * * * pass for a half pence current pay of this province." "This half penny was a copper coin struck by the Roman Catholics after the massacre in Ireland, in 1641, and was generally known as St. Patrick's half penny * * * * * Through the foresight of Mark Newbie it was bought in quantities at a slight discount and brought to West Jersey. He, and William Cooper were appointed to serve in the Governor's Council, and they were both appointed Commissioners for the third or Irish Tenth. (n)

Thomas Thackara was a "stuff weaver," one having something to do with the manufacture of flax. In 1686 he was appointed Justice for the Irish Tenth, and he sat at the first session of the Gloucester County courts. (n). He was also a member of the Legislature in 1683. While he was a Friend, and peaceable in disposition, he could speak his mind plainly, and would not be imposed upon. In 1689 he attacked the Council of Proprietors for selling certain pine trees which had been uprooted, he claiming they belonged to the settler who had located the land, and not the proprietors. (o)

Thomas Sharp was a single man, and the youngest man in the colony; but his was the master mind. He was an Irishman, a "wool comber" by trade, but he had a better education than any of them. He was the nephew of Anthony Sharp, a wealthy merchant of Dublin, who became the owner of several shares of propriety, part of which he conveyed to Thomas, who also acted as his agent in the sale of the remainder. "A faithful sketch of his life from the time of his arrival in New Jersey until his death would be a history of Gloucester County for that period." He was a surveyor and surveyed all the land in Camden and Haddon Townships. He laid out Gloucester town in 1689, and a few years later he acted as clerk of the proprietors when Gloucester County was set off from Salem County. I have one of his deeds, dated 1690, witnessed by Francis Collins, Daniel Reading and John Reading, which I am saving for this Society. At some future time I shall read a paper on Thomas Sharp.

George Goldsmith, like Thomas Sharp, was a single man when he settled in Newton. He is referred to as an old man, but it is probable that he was middle aged. He was an easy going man, and kept clear of all entangling alliances. Like the other settlers, he was a Friend, and in 1681 was appointed by the Salem meeting with Richard Robinson "to speak to Thomas Smith about his disorderly walking."

He owned no rights, but represented a tenth of one whole share owned by Thomas Starkey, and upon these representations the commissioners allowed a survey to be made extending from Newtotn Creek to Cooper's Creek, containing about five hundred acres of land. As Starkey did not furnish the "rights" to complete the title, Goldsmith found himself in a "strait" and induced Robert Turner, of Philadelphia, to return the location in his own name. Turner did so, and allowed Goldsmith one hundred acres of land for his trouble. (p)

William Cooper, of Coleshill, England, settled at Pyne Point, at the mouth of Cooper's Creek in 1682. He came over in the same ship with Francis Collins and they both settled in Burlington. He owned 50 acres of land at that place on which he built himself a house. He was a blacksmith by trade and an acceptable minister of Friends. In 1682 he located three hundred acres of land, bounded by Cooper's Creek, and fronting on the Delaware River, which extended down to what is now called Cooper street. He secured undoubted title, first by deed from the commissioners, and then by purchasing from Arasapha, the Indian King, who with his tribe lived at this point. The first house William Cooper built is gone and no trace of it is left as the ground on which it stood has been washed away by the encroaching tide. (q)

Friends' Meeting was held at his house and Richard Arnold's house alternately,

until the arrival of the Irish Friends, when as Thomas Sharp quaintly says: "Immediately there was a Meeting set up and kept, at the house of Mark Newbie, and in a short time it grew and increased, until which William Cooper and family, that live at the Pynte, resorted and sometimes the meeting was kept at his house, who had been settled some time before." (q)

William Cooper was one of the Proprietors of West Jersey, and also a member of the West Jersey Assembly in 1682 (n). Probably no one of the early settlers exerted a more lasting influence over public affairs than he did and his descendants have kept their impress upon the history of this province and State. Some of his lineal descendants occupy today part of the land he originally located. Cooper Hospital in Camden, was built and endowed largely through the generosity of the lineal descendants of William Cooper, Pyne Poynt's first settler. According to tradition William Cooper, the blacksmith, was the richest man in Newton.

William Royden located four hundred and fifty acres of land in the heart of Camden, extending from Cooper street to Line street. As his survey was dated prior to William Cooper's, and as some of his land lapped on Cooper's there was trouble continually between them on this point, and it was not settled during the older Cooper's lifetime. In 1723, William Cooper, grandson of William Cooper, became the owner of most of Royden's survey and thus the matter was settled. Royden in his will styles himself a "citizen and grocer of London." He was the man appointed by the Gloucester County Court to operate a Ferry between Camden and Philadelphia, as will be seen by reference to the early court records. But the site chosen by him for his Ferry is lost; he himself returned to England and all we have left to remember him is Royden street, which runs from Newton Avenue to the river.

According to records of Friends, Richard Arnold must have been the first settler in Camden, for at Burlington Meeting held Sept. 5, 1681, it was "ordered that Friends of Pyne Point have a meeting on every fourth day, and to begin at the second hour, at Richard Arnold's house." Howard Cooper in his Historical Sketch of Camden says: "It was the only Meeting between Salem and Burlington, and the third in priority in West Jersey, and has been kept up by Friends without a lapse from that time to the present." (q). As Arnold's land, according to Sharp's map, is where the New York Ship Building Company's plant is now located, it was quite a distance to travel from Pyne Point to Newton Creek.

Arnold bought his land from Robert Turner, and Archibald Mickle later bought it all. Mickle is said to have owned the land from Newton Creek to Little Newton Creek (better known as Line Ditch.) John Kaighin from Line Ditch to Line street, and William Cooper, the younger, from Line street to Cooper's Point.

John Kaighin was an Irishman and a carpenter. His first purchase of land was from Robert Turner and as said above extended from Line Ditch to Line street. He had married Ann Forrest, the widow of Walter Forrest, and daughter of William Albertson, who was a neighbor to Thomas Sharp on the opposite side of Newton Creek. By his first marriage there was one child, a daughter, who bore the mother's name. The daughter was born June 21, 1694, and the mother died July 6, of the same year. In 1696 he married Sarah, the widow of Andrew Griscom, and sister of John Dole, then a resident of Newton township. A letter to him from his mother is thus addressed: "To Mr. John Kaighn, Liner in West New Jersey, nigh on Delaware river side, opposite to Philadelphia city, in America." It was signed Jane Kaighen. The Kaighens in this country spelled it Kaighin, but one of John Kaighin's descendants, by act of the Legislature, had it changed to Kaighn. First Kaighen, next Kaighin, then Kaighn, and at this time by some of them simply Kain. Whether this could properly be classed "as raising cain" I am unable to decide.

In an unfinished letter without date, intended for his mother, John sorrowfully tells her he had "lost two good and loving wives, in a few years' time—and left alone

with young babies;" and that these were two boys and one girl, "the youngest yet at nurse." (r)

As this paper is exceeding the length I had intended I forego naming other settlers at this time. We have written briefly of the Friend's Meeting House, built in 1684, burned down a hundred or more years later.

After Newton Meeting House was destroyed by fire the Friends decided to build nearer to Cooper's Ferry, and in 1801 they secured a plot of two and a half acres from John Kaighin and wife, on the Mount Ephraim road, adjoining old Camden Cemetery. On this lot they built their present brick Meeting House, and thereafter buried their dead in the burying ground adjoining the Meeting House. Although in Camden, it is still called Newton Meeting House. In a recent visit to this old grave yard I found Dr. Isaac S. Mulford, wife and daughter were buried almost under the eaves of the Meeting House. Dr. Mulford was a leading physician in his day in old Newton township, was a minister of Friends, and author of a valuable book to the historian entitled "Civil and Political History of New Jersey," which he published in 1848.

Much interest attaches to old Newton Graveyard, situated close to West Collingswood station on the Reading road to Atlantic City.

Not far from Mark Newbie's house in the southwestern part of West Collingswood, Thomas Thackara gave an acre of land for a graveyard, and this burial ground, this quaint resting place for the dead, holds the bodies of the early settlers and their children and their children's children to this day. This is why Newton Burial Ground is the oldest Cemetery around here.

In the early days, roads were few and poorly kept. For this reason most of the funerals were made by water. In Clement's "Early Settlers of Newton Township" one such funeral is described. Esther Spicer widow of Samuel Spicer, "on the 24th day of the seventh month, 1703, was killed by lightning, together with a servant and Thomas Thackara's son Richard * * * * The sudden death of this person at that season of the year necessitated an early burial. The funeral occurred the night after her decease, the family and friends going in boats down Cooper's Creek to the river, and by the river to Newton Creek, and thence to the Newton Graveyard, the place of interment, each boat being provided with torches. * * * * To the Colonists it was a sad spectacle, when they saw one so much esteemed among them being borne to her last resting place. To the Indians it was a grand and impressive sight. Arasapha the king, and others of his people attended the solemn procession in their canoes, thus showing their respect for one, the cause of whose death struck them with awe and reverence. The deep, dark forest that stood close down to the shores of the stream almost rejected the light as it came from the burning brands of pine carried in the boats; and as they passed under the thick foliage, a shadow was scarcely reflected from the water. The Colonists in their plain and unassuming apparel, the Aborigines clad in gaudy and significant robes, and the negro slaves (as oarsmen) with their almost nude bodies, must have presented from the shore, a rare and striking picture. Here, all undesigned, was the funeral of a Friend, in which ostentation and display are always avoided, made one of the grandest pageants that the fancy could imagine."

This old burying-ground adjoins the Reading Railroad at the West Collingswood station, one block south of Collings Avenue. According to Friends' ancient custom, no stone was set to mark the grave, and in the older part, known as the Friends' portion, no grave stones are seen, except close to the wall alongside of the railroad's pretty lawn, two high slabs mark the resting place of Mrs. Lucetta Thackary and her son William, who died in 1816 and 1819, descendants of the man who gave the land for the cemetery. Because of the presence of these headstones it is evident that this branch of the Thackara family had ceased to be Friends and were not members of Newton Meeting. The oldest stones I could decipher were Mary Heritage, who died September 15, 1768, and Sarah Clayton, who died July 19, 1789. This stone has fallen down,

been broken, but stuck back in the ground, only a few inches being visible. The latest stone I observed was in memory of Joseph Stokes Collings, son of Joseph C. Collings. Joseph S. Collings was the first postmaster of Collingswood, and the holder of a Trust Deed for Newton Cemetery at the time of his death in March, 1909.

John Redfield and his family lie side by side in "Union" Cemetery. Here lies the body of Priscilla Redfield, the oldest school teacher (in point of service) in New Jersey.

Richard T. Collings, one of the lineal descendants of Francis Collins, who settled in Haddonfield, in October 1682, locating five hundred acres, is a member of this Society, and to him should we look for some account of his ancestor's labors in Burlington where he built the Friends' Meeting House and later in Newton township. Francis Collins built his house between Cooper's Creek and King's Highway from Burlington to Salem. He called it Mountwell and in his house his daughters hospitably entertained Elizabeth Haddon, while she was having alterations made in her father's house before she took up her abode there.

Richard T. Collings has older Trust Deeds for "Union" Cemetery than the one I have to show you to-day. He also is one of the trustees for "Union" Cemetery. William Redfield, of Gloucester City, John Redfield's son, is another of the surviving trustees.

Friend's portion of Newton Burying Ground is kept in better order than the "Union" portion. They have \$500 invested as a fund, from the income of this fund they pay to keep the grave yard clean. Arrangements are now being made by which the present trustees of the Friends' portion will co-operate with the trustees of "Union" Cemetery, in keeping all the grounds in proper condition as befits the last resting place of the early settlers and their descendants.

While we know in what ground Mark Newbie, Thomas Thackara and Thos. Sharp have been buried, we are unable to locate their graves. Neither can we locate just where the first settlers in Newton pitched their tents. Newton, the earliest settlement in Gloucester County, is LOST, and all we know positively is that it was somewhere on the north bank of the middle branch of Newton Creek.

Gloucester County was created in 1686 by the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of the Irish Tenth, and "on the first day of June, 1695. the Grand Jury, with the assent of the Bench, and in accordance with an act of the last Assembly, constituted the constableness or township of Newton, to extend from the lowest branch of Cooper's Creek to ye southerly branch of Newton Creek, bounding Gloucester." The villages of Haddonfield, Newton and Cooper's Ferry were then the most populous.

The early elections in the seventeenth century, and the first Town Meetings were held in Newton Meeting House. Early in the eighteenth century they were moved to Haddonfield and held in the Friends' school house at that place. Later on they were held alternately at Haddonfield and Cooper's Ferry. But the general elections for members of the General Assembly what we call our State elections, were held at the place or places designated by the Sheriff of the County after consultation with the candidates. Sometimes the Sheriff carried the election box from village to village at certain specified hours on Election Day.

In the election for members of the General Assembly on February 10, 1716, occurred the first crooked or partisan work of which we have any record in this county. John Kay, a prominent man in the Society of Friends, who had been elected many times to represent this county in the Legislature, was again a candidate. His opponent was Daniel Coxe, who ran for both Gloucester and Salem counties, after the manner of the English parliament.

The poll was to be held at the "corn mill," near the "great field," which was part of John Haddon's estate bounded by the King's road, and part of the village of Haddonfield. The Sheriff, William Harrison, adjourned the poll from the great field near John Kay's house, to William Cooper's at Pyne Point, several miles distant, without the

consent of the candidates, which was contrary to law. By this transaction the defeat of John Kay was brought about. In April, 1716, Sheriff Harrison was ordered by the House of Assembly to appear and answer the charge of "adjourning the poll on February 10th, from the field near John Kay's to the house of William Cooper, several miles distant, without the consent of the candidates, which was contrary to law, and the right of the subject." There is no record of what defense the Sheriff made, but he was convicted by the House of Assembly, and reprimanded by the Speaker by direct vote of the House (*s*) and a bill was brought in to regulate the elections. (*s*). Sheriff Harrison was a prominent man in his day, respected by his fellow citizens, and held many offices of profit and trust through the suffrages of the people. He lived in the old Manor house in East Gloucester fronting on the south branch of Newton Creek. Sheriff Harrison could not have been such a bad man. Being the oldest son, he inherited all his father's land. I have with me a deed from the said William Harrison to his brother Samuel Harrison, dated Feb. 10, 1710, wherein for the consideration of the sum of five shillings, and the natural love and affection he bore toward his brother Samuel, he conveys five hundred acres of land, and twenty acres of meadow land to his said brother.

One hundred years later, we find the elections were held on alternate years in Haddonfield and Camden, "until 1827, when the Haddonfield people, conscious of their greater voter strength at the town meeting held in their place, resolved to shove Camden to the wall, and thereafter to meet only at Haddonfield. Their superior number carried the question, but he laughs best who laughs last, and they unconsciously aroused the young giant that afterward whipped them in many a hard fought battle." (*t*).

Next year, in 1828, Camden with 1143 inhabitants, was incorporated as a city, and held its election in its own bailiwick and had entire control of its police and lower criminal courts. But for all other matters it remained under the jurisdiction and remained a part of Newton Township. To remedy this condition in 1831, all the land in the then city of Camden, was created into a separate township, which was called Camden. From that time till 1848, Camden was doubly governed, having a Township Committee and a City Council. The Township Committee could assess and collect taxes and repair the roads and highways, and the City Council could control the police and grant tavern licenses, which was their only source of revenue. When the city was incorporated, so jealous were the upper village of Cooper's Ferry and the lower village of Kaighnton that they would be governed harshly by Camden (as the central part of the city was called) that it was stipulated in the act of incorporation that at least one member of Council should be elected from Cooper's Ferry, one from Kaighnton and the other three from anywhere in the city.

In 1848, four years after Camden was cut out of Gloucester County, the various acts incorporating Camden, were amended, and the city divided into three wards, Upper, Middle and Lower. The Upper ward represented Cooper's Ferry, the Lower ward Kaighnton, the Middle ward the old village of Camden. Then and there the identity of Cooper's Ferry and Kaighnton was lost, and all three villages united to make a greater city.

Old Newton had grown as well as Camden, and in 1856 another election district was formed. All north of Collings road was in the new district, and its citizens voted in Stockton, as South Camden then was called. All south of Collings road voted as before at Haddonfield. Right here it may be interesting to state that the inhabitants of the western end of the township between the main branch and the north branch of Newton Creek have had their election places changed so often they hardly know where to vote. The farmer who lived on Thomas Sharp's former plantation, tells me that when he worked as a hired man several years ago at this place, he used to vote in Stockton. Since he returned to the farm as tenant eighteen years ago, he has voted at Orston, now Lost in Audubon, at Haddonfield, and last of all at Westmont. By the bye, Westmont was formerly called Rowandtown or Roundtown. While the site is not

lost the name is obliterated and this furnishes us with an example of another Lost town or hamlet.

In 1865, the Township of Haddon was created out of old Newton township. In 1875 the borough of Haddonfield was formed from the bounds of the village of Haddonfield. In 1871 a great many changes were made in old Newton Township. All the land north of the north branch of Newton Creek, extending to Line Ditch, formerly called Stockton, and Centerville, was annexed to Camden, and made its Eighth Ward. In this way the hamlets of Stockton and Centerville lost their identity. What is now called South Camden station on the West Jersey Railroad was formerly called Stockton station. Another interesting fact in connection with this change, was that the Stockton Baptist Church, situate on Broadway, near VanHook street, finding the church was no longer in Stockton, applied to the Legislature for permission to change its name to Third Baptist Church of Camden, N. J.

In 1871, after all these changes and formations, all that was left of old Newton township, is the name of the creek, the old burial ground, and Newton Avenue in Camden City. A valued member of this Society, Dr. A. M. Stackhouse, of Morrestown, has in his possession an old map showing all the land and water within a circle of sixteen miles from the Town Pump on Broad Street (where the public buildings in Philadelphia now are.) This map was published in 1801. An inspection of it shows the road leading from Cooper's Ferry to Haddonfield was called Newton Road. Even this designation is lost, for while it is Haddon Avenue in Camden, Collingswood, Westmont and Haddonfield, it is more generally known as Haddonfield road by those who travel over it.

In closing, let me allude briefly to three men who were the largest landholders in Newton township. Robert Turner, whose name is first mentioned in the Deed for the Irish Tenth, according to Sharp's map on Early Settlers of Newton Township, owned 2750 acres. Daniel Coxe, for aiding in whose election Sheriff Harrison was reprimanded, was, next to the West Jersey Society and Mr. Penn, the largest owner of real estate in this state.

In our own day and generation the largest single holder of land in old Newton township was E. C. Knight, a lineal descendant of one of its first settlers. In the later years of his life he invested very largely, giving as a reason that he wanted to own as much land in Newton township as Robert Turner did. To him are all the people in Newton township indebted for Knight's Park, between White Horse Pike and the Camden & Atlantic railroad to Atlantic City. All three men are gone, but the good they have done lives after them.

In conclusion a few figures will be of interest. Old Newton Township was settled in 1682 by four families, two single men and the dependents of the married settlers. Now within the bounds of the old township of Newton over one hundred and thirty thousand people have their homes.

Old Gloucester County in 1790, the first year a census was taken, had 13,363 inhabitants. Then it extended from the river to the sea. In 1810, after it was shorn of half its land by the creation of Atlantic County, it had 25,509 inhabitants. In 1850, after it had been divided again by the setting off of Camden County, it had 11,653 inhabitants, while Camden had 25,559. In 1910 Atlantic had 71,819; Camden 112,029. and Gloucester County 37,368. So that from the six original settlers in 1682, till the year of our Lord 1910, old Gloucester County (if it had not been divided) would have had 251,291 people within its borders.

REFERENCES TO AUTHORITIES.

- (a) History of New Sweden, by Acrelius, page 315.
 - (b) History of New Sweden, page 214.
 - (c) History of New Jersey, by Gordon, page 7.
 - (d) Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, by Clay, page 16.
 - (e) History of New Sweden, page 67.
 - (f) Original Settlement on the Delaware River, by Clay, page 19.
 - (g) Original Settlements on Delaware. Map after page 310.
 - (h) First Settlers in Newton Township, by Clement, page 49.
 - (i) Liber A, Gloucester County Deeds, page 98, in Secretary of State's office at Trenton.
 - (k) First Settlers, etc., page 445.
 - (l) History of Camden County, by Prowell, page 638.
 - (m) First Settlers, etc., page 51.
 - (n) Sharp's Reprint of Smith's History, pp. 151, 152, 153.
 - (o) Province of New Jersey, by Tanner, page 548.
 - (p) First Settlers, etc., page 67.
 - (q) Historical Sketch of Camden, by H. M. Cooper, pp. 9-11.
 - (r) First Settlers, etc., page 156.
 - (s) Province of New Jersey, by Tanner, page 358.
 - (t) Historical Sketch of Camden, by Cooper, page 34.
- Laws of New Jersey for 1786, 1813, 1828, 1831, 1844, 1848, 1856, 1863, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875.

